

Pam.
Educ.
Miss.



TERRITORY OF PAPUA.

NATIVE EDUCATION

The Language of Instruction and
Intellectual Education.

BY

F. E. WILLIAMS,

B.A. (Adelaide); Dip. Anthropology (Oxford),

GOVERNMENT ANTHROPOLOGIST.

Anthropology, Report No. 9.

1928

PORT MORESBY:

WILLIAMS & SON, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.



TERRITORY OF PAPUA.



NATIVE EDUCATION

The Language of Instruction and Intellectual Education.

BY

F. E. WILLIAMS,

M.A. (Adelaide); Dip. Anthropology (Oxford),

GOVERNMENT ANTHROPOLOGIST.

Anthropology, Report No. 9.

1928

PORT MORESBY:

EDWARD GEORGE BAKER, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.

Pain.
Educ.
Miss

CONTENTS.



	PAGE.
INTRODUCTORY	v
I.—THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION:	
LANGUAGE AND THE PRESERVATION OF NATIVE CULTURE	2
The Intrinsic Value of the Vernacular ...	3
The Vernacular as a Culture-Medium ...	5
Natives to be Bilingual	5
RELATIVE DIFFICULTY OF ENGLISH AND THE VERNACULAR	6
Use of a Lingua Franca... ..	8
Appeal to the Native Mind	9
ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF ENGLISH	9
1. Intercourse with Whites	9
2. Access to a Literature	10
THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH	10

II.—INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION:

TRAINING	12
Observation... ..	13
Accuracy	13
Curiosity	14
Concentration	15
Memory	15
Reasoning	16
English and Daily Intercourse	17
TEACHING	18
A NATIVE PRESS	21

INTRODUCTORY.



IT has proved difficult to make a satisfactory division of the present subject, and I have finally adopted a classification which, being neither logically nor psychologically quite sound, can only be regarded as serving a practical turn. By this classification native education is made to fall under four heads :—

(1) *Intellectual*. This covers what is meant by education in its narrower sense, viz., the old curriculum of the school, or Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, together with the general information which is imparted at the various stages of development.

(2) *Practical*. This includes all those departments of manual training which will fit the native for a higher standard of living. Such subjects, which have a further indirect value in training the mind, are, e.g., Agriculture, Domestic Economy, Hygiene, etc.

(3) *Aesthetic*. This means the fostering of all the native's artistic tendencies whatever form—useful or otherwise—they may take.

(4) *Moral and Religious*—a loose and liberal category—of which the all-important aim is the development of character.

It is not for a moment claimed that these are mutually exclusive divisions. A pupil's reading, e.g., will contribute not only to his intellectual but to his practical and moral education; his arts and crafts have as much practical as aesthetic value; his ceremonies are as much a matter of art as they are of religion. But, as I have said, the above is only to be regarded as a working analysis of the subject to be discussed.

The present publication does not go beyond the first of these four divisions. The others I hope to deal with in subsequent reports.


F.E.W.

NATIVE EDUCATION

The Language of Instruction and Intellectual Education.



I.—THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION.

 BEFORE attempting this discussion we must direct our attention to that important preliminary matter, the language of instruction. I am aware that the Government is already in favour of English as against the vernacular, so that my own opinion, which is in complete agreement with theirs, might not seem to require any lengthy statement. But many of the missions, I believe, hold the opposite view; and one notes that in the last few years the two important commissions in East Africa, viz., the Ormsby-Gore and Phelps-Stokes Commissions, have, with certain reservations, also declared themselves in favour of the vernacular; so that the problem must be regarded as still in theory unsolved, and therefore I feel justified in setting forth the pros and cons as they appear to me.

The actual recommendations of the two above-mentioned commissions are quoted:—

Report of the East Africa (Ormsby-Gore) Commission, p. 51.

“During the elementary and primary stages we regard it as essential that the medium of education should be a native language, and that English should be introduced only at a later stage. In the secondary and further stages English and English alone should be the medium of instruction. It is very undesirable that Africans should be given a mere smattering of English. When English is taught at all, it must be taught thoroughly and completely and only to such pupils as are undergoing a period of school life long enough to enable English to be learnt properly.”

Education in East Africa (Phelps-Stokes Commission), p. 22.

“ 1. The tribal language should be used in the lower elementary standards or grades.

2. A lingua franca of African origin should be introduced in the middle classes of the school if the area is occupied by large Native groups speaking diverse languages.

3. The language of the European nation in control should be taught in the upper standards.”

It will be seen that both bodies agree in recommending the vernacular alone for the lower classes, and English (or a European language) for the upper classes; from which it is to be understood that the former will be the general language of instruction and the latter reserved for the selected minority who attain to the higher stages. Leaving for the moment the question of when a beginning should be made with English, I may set down the general arguments on either side regarding the language of instruction.

Language and the Preservation of Native Culture.

Perhaps the most powerful argument in favour of the native language is that it is in itself an essential part of native culture, to displace which, it is argued, is to deprive the native of something he prizes very highly. The view is best expressed by some of the phrases of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. Notwithstanding the acknowledged value of a European language, they say—

“ “the value of the native tongue is immensely more vital, in that it is one of the chief means of preserving whatever is good in Native customs, ideas and ideals, and thereby preserving what is more important than all else, namely, Native self-respect” p. 19.

“ All peoples have an inherent right to their own language. It is the means of giving expression to their own personality, however primitive they may be ” p. 19.

“ No greater injustice can be committed against a people than to deprive them of their own language.” p. 19.

Having always advocated the policy of not only sparing but actually developing the best in native culture I feel that an argument of this kind should receive all possible consideration. But is the danger so serious as these quotations would imply? Can we believe that a partial preservation of native culture (and that is all we can hope or wish for) is impossible without preservation of the native language?

The Intrinsic Value of the Vernacular.

The Commission is apparently viewing a situation in which the European has completely ousted the native language. Let us for the present grant this assumption, however unlikely, and examine the case under these putative conditions. A language may in the first place be viewed as intrinsically part of a culture; and in the second as a medium for other parts of that culture, an element in which they live and grow. Taking for a moment the first point of view we may fairly ask whether the vernacular *in itself* is worth preserving, whether, indeed, it is one of the best and most valuable parts of a culture. I have elsewhere suggested that the category of things worth preserving is formed, not exclusively but yet most importantly, of those that have an emotional value and those that have an aesthetic value, i.e., of those things about which the native feels strongly and deeply, and those which offer any scope for his artistic tendencies. Now it is not to be denied that a people's language possesses some value to them under each of these two heads, but I cannot believe that in the case of the various languages of Papua the value is very high.

First regarding the people's feeling for their language, it is true that every native does hold the pardonable belief that his speech is *the* speech, and that the differences shown by neighbouring dialects or languages are merely marks of awkwardness, due to slow or heavy movements of the speakers' tongues; and it may be that he does feel some attachment for his own language (though I cannot remember any explicit evidence of such attachment). Now were a people suddenly deprived of their language they would of course be desolated. But we cannot envisage this possibility: as all must agree, there is no question or even possibility of such sudden deprivation. On the other hand a gradual displacement of a language, extending perhaps over a number of generations, need not do any great injury to the feelings of those who speak or spoke it; indeed such a displacement has been a common phenomenon wherever by conquest or migration two peoples have been brought together and intermixed. In such a case one language or the other may gradually yield and disappear—at the primitive stage, we may assume, without deliberate pressure on the one hand, and, I venture to

think, without much repining on the other. On the whole if an eventual displacement of the vernacular by English were actually contemplated (and assuming it were ever possible) I believe it could be achieved gradually and without any serious sense of loss to the natives. It may be added that there is no kind of antipathy toward the strange language in itself. Natives often master the different languages of neighbouring peoples to a quite successful degree, and linguists are always proud of themselves and anxious to use and show their skill: proud as they are of their own speech they are not averse to using others.

There is also, however, the aesthetic value of a language to be considered. Only one who had a very full and sympathetic knowledge of any particular language could express a confident opinion in this matter, and his opinion would have reference to the artistic possibilities of that language alone; not possessing any such knowledge myself I can only make one or two general observations. The artistic possibilities might find effect in myth, legend, and folk-tale, in songs, formulæ, and spells. Regarding the former, viz., myths, etc., I have always thought their value consisted in their content rather than their form, though I have perhaps done an injustice to the poetic possibilities of the narrator and the language he speaks. As for the songs, I can vouch for the fact that their words are commonly of a very trivial nature, and not only that, but often quite unintelligible to the singers. Of spells and formulæ I have no extensive personal knowledge, for it so happens that the peoples I have worked among do not make an elaborate use of them. However, it appears that set formulæ are commonly used by some peoples, and I do not venture to deny that they may possess an aesthetic value. On the whole it seems probable that the supplanting of the native tongues might involve some artistic loss—for the time being at least, until the new language was so firmly implanted as to offer an equal (or perhaps better) scope for artistic expression. But the sacrifice—if we grant the fact—is relatively a small one. In the large number of unwritten languages of Papua no one has yet found and recorded evidence, I believe, of any outstanding poetic development, so that I do not think the possible loss would be a really serious obstacle to the supplanting of the language.

The Vernacular as a Culture-Medium.

So much for the language as part of culture itself. We may now briefly consider its function as a medium or carrier for other parts of culture. Apart from material culture there are the social, the economic, and the religious and aesthetic aspects of life to be considered. The first manifestly is for the most part independent of any language; and so, to a larger degree than might be expected, is the last, viz., the religious and aesthetic: for the native is here in a sense bent on emotional satisfaction, and it is rather in the deed or the rite than in the word that he finds it (of which we have evidence in the fact that his theory is so often quite inadequate to explain his practice). As for the other two aspects, social and economic, it is a question whether the native would not fare as well on English as on the vernacular—granted, as the argument must grant, that the former has really supplanted the latter and become the language of the people. It is indeed essential that the native retain his cultural identity and the pride of race that goes with it, and the question is whether this would be possible under the hypothetical condition in which the vernacular was completely supplanted by English. If such a condition came about it would only be by a gradual process, and those who think it would be disastrous to native individuality must bear the onus of proof.

Natives to be Bilingual.

But so far I feel I have been beating the air. There is in reality no question of depriving the natives of their own language; it is not proposed to do them this "great injustice"; and they may still retain their "inherent right" to the tongue that gives them the expression of their own personality. As a matter of fact there are already in Papua many individuals who can speak good English, but not one of them, I believe, speaks his own tongue any the less fluently or familiarly. The solution of the problem—indeed the natural, inevitable solution—is that the native will be bilingual. For the present we could not have it otherwise if we wanted it. There is no desire on the part of anyone to suppress the native dialect in the native village, and there it will flourish as before. The future may be left to look after itself. If it should happen (and this is sheer hypothesis) that in the long run English does

supersede the vernacular, then, as I have said, it will only be by a gradual and effortless process ; it will be by the free choice of the natives themselves ; and it is open to doubt whether they would not be making a good bargain. But, as I have implied, this supersession is but a remote possibility. It is far more likely that the native dialects should continue and flourish, and with them the cultural individuality and pride of race which it is essential any primitive people should retain.

Relative Difficulty of English and the Vernacular.

The second strong argument against English as the main language of instruction seems to be nothing more than its difficulty. There is no doubt that among all the Melanesian-speaking natives of the Territory a standard language of Melanesian structure would be far more easily mastered than English ; and it also seems probable that the many and various Papuan groups, despite their linguistic diversity, would be more readily suited by standard languages of Papuan type. English, if only for the antique difficulties of its orthography, is known to be hard.

But it must be remembered that we require a medium of communication between the native and ourselves, so that we on our part need consideration. There being two parties to the question it seems necessary that one, whichever it may be, should learn the other's language (if we may rule out what seems the preposterous alternative that they should both learn a third language different from either of their own) ; so that either we must learn the native languages or the natives must learn ours. The question is, which side is likely to be more successful.

I am far from disputing the advantages which a knowledge of the vernacular must bring to every teacher (as well as to every other individual who comes in contact with natives). Indeed such a knowledge is all but necessary in the lowest stages of teaching and will remain a useful supplementary medium in the highest. But we are speaking of the principal language of instruction and it will be my contention that for this purpose English should be adopted at the earliest possible stage, the vernacular being used only for the sheer rudiments, only indeed to assist in teaching English itself.

Against this contention, however, it will be argued by many that as education advances and the language used in teaching necessarily increases in complexity, the vernacular would still remain the better medium because the European must be capable of a deeper knowledge of it than the native could ever attain of English. I do not know whether I am glad or sorry to say that I doubt it. I do not of course speak personally of the men who are at present teaching natives in Papua: many of them, I know and admit, possess a mastery of the languages used in their respective districts. But I will quote regarding missionaries at large an authoritative opinion, viz., that of the Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries (School of Oriental Studies in London).^{*} While regarding a knowledge of the vernacular as essential they have had to write: "As far as our experience and information go, we are of opinion that the average level of proficiency attained by missionaries in the vernacular at the present time is regrettably and even dangerously low." In our own territory there is no doubt that the missionaries are the linguists: with the vast majority of the other Europeans knowledge of the native languages is beneath contempt. It is confined in the main to pidgin-Motuan—a perfectly legitimate medium in itself and one which has proved vastly useful. I have heard many trying to speak it, as with poor success I have tried myself. Some few have attained a real proficiency, but nearly all possess no more than a glib knowledge, both shallow and corrupt, which reflects small credit on the linguistic faculty of the British. Against this we have to set the proficiency, such as it may be, of the natives. No doubt a reasonably fair comparison could be made between the two by means of tests; but never having attempted these I can only record the impression gained from the observation of many individuals that the native is as well fitted to acquire English as we to acquire the vernacular. I will not venture to say that he is by nature *better* fitted, though if, as this report advocates, his learning of English begins at the very earliest—the Kindergarten—stage, then he will have an immense advantage over the European, who normally approaches the new language as an adult.

^{*}Quoted by Phelps-Stokes Commission, p. 21.

Assuming, however, no more than an equal proficiency on the part of both, the case between English and the vernacular stands thus: on the one hand a single language that offers itself for universal use; on the other some score of mutually unintelligible tongues, some of them indeed of a common structure which is recognizable to the philologist, but others even renowned for their defiance of classification. The interests of uniformity and efficiency at least would seem to demand the former alternative. The latter would mean a different language on almost every station, and even this often means the selection of one dialect or language and the overriding of others. One missionary told me, with a pride which is quite justifiable, that he had students representing six languages at his school. But in using one of these six as the language of instruction rather than English, I believe he was making a mistake.

Use of a Lingua Franca.

A passing reference must be made to what some pages back I called a seemingly preposterous alternative, viz., the adoption by both parties, native and European, of a third language which they may speak in common. This is really what is happening in the above-mentioned case and a number of others. The third language (unless we resort to something like Esperanto or French or German) must be one selected from all the jarring tongues of Papua. This would not seem to mend matters greatly. In practice we have made the widest use of Motuan in that simplified (or shall we say degraded?) form which may properly be called pidgin-Motuan. Notwithstanding the efforts of the London Missionary Society to promote a knowledge of the pure dialect it must be confessed that the pidgin is the only useful medium in most parts of the Territory where it is known. In fact a native who uses the language fluently and understands it readily in this low form would be mystified by its correct grammar. So far, therefore, though Motuan has been successfully employed on some London Missionary Society stations and by the London Missionary Society Training College in its correct form, it has not proved a satisfactory educative medium for use on a wide scale. Nor can I imagine any permanent advantage that would follow its general adoption. Other languages such as Binandele, Wedauan, Toaripi and Kiwai have been used in the same way though on a less extensive scale. It is my

contention here that if the majority of natives have to hear their lessons in a strange tongue, we might as well make it the English tongue. I cannot acquiesce in the recommendation of the Phelps-Stokes Commission (*see* p. 2) that a lingua franca of native origin should be used for the middle classes of the school, being sandwiched between the tribal language for the lower elementary, and English for the upper standards.

Appeal to the Native Mind.

If we may assume, what I believe to be true, that the native can acquire a good knowledge of English, then we will not accept the objection that "The appeal to the Native mind cannot be effectively made without the adequate use of the Native language, nor can the essentials of sound character be taught nor interest in agriculture or industry be developed without its use." (Phelps-Stokes Commission, p. 8.) The good knowledge of English would follow, I feel confident, if it were taught and used from the earliest stages. It would then eventually prove a far better medium of intercourse between native and European teacher than in the majority of cases the native language proves at present.

Arguments in Favour of English.

I now come to what I consider the positive advantages of English as the language of instruction. It affords two great advantages, viz., (1) that it will facilitate intercourse with Europeans at large; and (2) that it will give access to a literature.

1.—*Intercourse with Whites.*

One looks forward to the time when the native's school shall be as wide as the Territory; when communication shall be universal owing to the possession of a universal language; and, most importantly, when every white man shall be a potential teacher. One need not countenance the objection that there may be danger in this, that the white man will in many cases lead the native into wrong paths, or that with too much knowledge the native may grow discontented or rebellious. If we are really bent on educating and advancing the Papuan the good results of genuine contact with Europeans should far

outweigh the bad. Indeed contact, in so far as it is to be educative, depends almost entirely on the possession of a language medium ; and if the European at large is to be an educator of the native, that medium can be nothing but English, for the simple reason that the average Britisher will not take the trouble, or has not got the brains, to learn a native language. Even a smattering is better than nothing, since here, for once at least, a little knowledge is not a dangerous thing. But given a good knowledge we shall get beyond the present ill-expressed and hackneyed passages of words whose interest and scope is so wretchedly limited, and there arises the possibility of conversation. I do not suggest that white men should invite Papuans to their dinner tables, but in all the inevitable points of contact an easier means of communication will immensely increase the native's intellectual benefits. Once given such facility the educative stream will be wider, faster, and by no means shallower.

2.—*Access to a Literature.*

Far more important is the access to a literature. On such a subject, which has often been dwelt upon by others, I need not write at length. Some altogether commendable work has been done in the native tongues, but its value has been limited by the comparative smallness of the public to which it is intelligible, and also by its somewhat circumscribed interest, the work being too often confined to translations of the scriptures. The problem of providing suitable reading will necessarily arise—indeed it has been faced and dealt with by one signally successful piece of work in Papua—but of that I shall speak in the ensuing chapter. For the rest I feel that this argument, viz., the access to a literature, is so much the strongest of all arguments for the use of English, that it needs only the shortest exposition. When the native can speak and read English the scope of his education is only to be limited by the power of his brains.

The Teaching of English.

It remains to suggest more definitely how English should be taught. It is not being unfair, I believe, to impute a certain lack of enthusiasm to many of the present teachers, which, in the case of those who uphold the vernacular, it is only reasonable to expect. Apart from

this absence of enthusiasm, however, there are two errors in method which retard the pupil's progress. One is that of not beginning early enough ; the other is that of teaching English as one particular subject on a par with others in the curriculum. On these two points I find myself in complete disagreement with the Phelps-Stokes Commission. Regarding the former I have already quoted their opinion (*see* p. 2) ; the latter is expressed by the following sentence : "The languages of instruction rank with the ordinary school subjects as means of acquiring and transferring knowledge."* I believe on the contrary that English should not only be taught and used at the earliest stage, but that at this stage it should be taught *exclusively* ; and I do not think that it should rank with the ordinary school subjects just as, for instance, we used to "take" Latin or French or German. English as I think it should be employed is in fact not commensurable with the other subjects ; it is a medium through which these other subjects will eventually be taught.

I would therefore recommend that English be made *the* subject at the earliest stages ; that it should be taught by conversational methods in classes of the Kindergarten style ; that the vernacular, in so far as its use is unavoidable, be used to assist in, and with the definite object of, teaching English ; but that it be dropped as soon as possible, on the theory, which holds respectively with all languages, that English is best learnt in English. I feel confident that if a whole-hearted effort be made to give the native our language in his earliest childhood, we shall find it a satisfactory medium of instruction as he later on attacks specific subjects. The process will demand some patience on the part of the teacher, but as years go by and the present generation of school children become familiar with our language, the task of teaching their younger brothers and sisters will grow increasingly easier, for they will themselves be the self-constituted and natural teachers. Nor will this preliminary stage in the child's schooling be without profit in mind-training of the sort given by Kindergarten methods ; though knowledge and thinking-power are for the time being only indirect objects. To conclude I would take a hint from the classic orator and

*Phelps-Stokes Commission, p. 19.

declare that the curriculum of the infant class should be divided into three parts—English, English, English.

II.—INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION.

In a working classification such as we have adopted the categories must be allowed to overlap; indeed it is only by a definite abstraction that we are able to extricate intellectual education from education as a whole and treat it separately. But assuming permission to treat it as a separate subject, we find that intellectual education neither receives nor deserves the same disproportionate attention that was formerly given it: the modern view regarding native education seems to be sheering off the old literary and clerical ideals toward something more practical. Notwithstanding this tendency, however, I do not imagine any progressive educationist would be content to sacrifice the old-fashioned schooling entirely in favour of agriculture, or whatever form the practical ideal might assume. A race of agriculturists who could not read a word would be almost as undesirable as a race of clerks who could not handle a hoe. In short, while promoting the other branches of education, we should keep in mind the definite aim of literacy.

Unfortunately I am not an educationist, so that whatever I say on the present department of the subject (and I say it with the greatest diffidence) will consist only of fragmentary suggestions. It seems possible, however, to view intellectual education in two ways, first in regard to the functions of the mind in acquiring knowledge, second in regard to the knowledge acquired; in other words we concern ourselves on the one hand with the thinking, or with all the cognitive processes of the pupil, on the other with what he should be made to know. Such a dual division corresponds with the two aspects in which, I believe, educationists sometimes view their subject, viz., those of Training and Teaching.

Training.

As the technique of mind-training has been more or less highly elaborated I feel chary of making suggestions as to the actual methods the instructor should employ. But keeping in mind the three-fold process of getting, storing, and using knowledge—which process, indeed, tends

to form an endless chain, because the acquisition of new knowledge is so largely conditioned by what we already possess—we may stress the training of certain specific qualities of mind by which the process will be best facilitated.

Observation.

The power of observation is perhaps the first of these. It will not be denied that natives in their untaught condition are already possessed of remarkable powers of observation; but the exercise of these powers is unquestionably limited to certain categories of life and environment, and in respect of others our native may break down badly. While a native orderly may surprise you by the things he notices as you walk along the track or through the garden, he may offer you odd socks to put on in the morning or put two left boots into your swag-bag to act as a spare pair. Nor can it be said that the native is always very reliable in his observation of nature. The other day I saw a fine cassowary brought into camp. My informants, crowding round, told me it was a male, as was obviously enough the case. One man, however, fingering those two curious appendages that hang down from the lower part of the bird's neck and resemble the wattle of a turkey, declared they were the cassowary's breasts from which its young were in the habit of hanging down when they were suckled. Not one of the bystanders showed any disposition to question this statement. Later on when the bird was being dismembered, two organs something resembling hen's eggs were shown me. I confess I am not sufficient of an anatomist to know what they were, but I can vouch for the fact that they were not what my informants thought, viz., unlaid eggs. Whatever the powers of the native in this matter of observation may be, it is highly desirable that they be improved and that they be directed toward objects and affairs of value to him in the life which will come more and more under European influences. In short I would advocate *Observation Lessons* and tests (such as, I believe, are well known in the routine of education) as an essential part of the young native's training.

Accuracy.

Accuracy is of course the very essence of observation, for it is not enough that the pupil keep his eyes open and

see a lot; he must see things as they are. If there is any striking deficiency in the native mind as we find it, it is this lack of exactitude, most forcibly exemplified by the fact that there is in primitive culture nothing beyond the most rudimentary system of measurement. I doubt whether any tribe in Papua has a unit by which it can measure space or weight. The units of time are supplied by nature together with the rounds of garden-culture, fishing, etc.; but with what is in most cases so poor a system of counting, the measurement of time is in hardly better case than those of space and weight. No native can tell you how far it is to the next village, unless perhaps by showing you the length of his forearm for a medium walk, or the distance from his wrist to his finger-tips for a short one (and of course it depends on his mood or his desire to go or stay whether he thinks the journey is long or short). No native can tell you the size of his pig unless in a particularly boastful and poetic flight he says it is "as big as a house." No uneducated native can tell you his age. Much improvement will be wrought, therefore, by continual insistence on careful statement and on a strict regard for *measurement in observation*. This is one way at least in which we may further the regard for truth in itself.

Curiosity.

In the course of several years spent largely in questioning natives I have come to accept as natural what at first surprised me, viz., the fact that they so seldom question me in return. It might have been expected that a primitive people would be very curious as to the life of the European stranger, or that they might seize the opportunity of asking that stranger to explain out of his assumed knowledge things that have hitherto puzzled them. But there is a somewhat disappointing absence of this curiosity, and, to speak truth, I do not find the native very puzzled about anything, i.e., if we understand the word as implying a state of mental disquiet over an unsolved problem. He is much more inclined to take things for granted and worry himself not at all about their explanation if it does not thrust itself upon him. He is indeed blissfully devoid of the philosopher's divine discontent. But that sort of discontent is very essential to progress, and we should have achieved a great deal in the

intellectual education of the native if we could stimulate what little there exists of it. But how to do it? It is, I confess, with no great confidence that one suggests *Question Classes* or *Curiosity Classes* in which the pupils must propound some question to their master or their fellows. One knows too well that those children who are not too stupid to ask may be too shy to ask; but perhaps the experiment, if it has not been tried before, may be worth trying.

Concentration.

I shall not venture to suggest means of training the pupil in concentration or application to his work. This, I presume, is one of the hardest tasks of the teacher as it is assuredly one of the greatest needs of the native. No doubt, however, modern methods of training and the initiative of the teacher are more or less equal to the demand. I would only suggest a possible *speeding-up* of the pupil. Have we not all noticed how, without leaving his work, the native can still be appallingly slow at it? He is dawdling. I am not recommending speed at the expense of thoroughness, but speed *and* thoroughness. We have to contend with the natural, idyllic disregard of the lapse of time which appears to be characteristic of all primitives, but which is inconsistent with progress and the new life into which European influence has brought and is still bringing change. Perhaps apart from the steady exercises whose value is in the engrossment of the pupil, there might be others in which he was called upon to drive himself at top speed, tasks with a time-limit and some sort of reward for their rapid performance.

Memory.

It should be unnecessary to insist that in acquiring knowledge the pupil must be able to understand it as he goes along; indeed we here stumble over the difficulty of abstract classification, for the acquisition of new knowledge is conditioned by the use of existing knowledge; the new must be fitted into the expanding system of the old, or grafted onto the growing tree, and the two are really inseparable. I shall have more to say of this when we come to discuss the content of knowledge, or the subjects of actual teaching. In the meantime it is only mentioned in connection with the storing of knowledge

and in order to insist that the pupil should, as far as possible, be induced to remember only what he understands. Not that this can ever be laid down as an absolutely invariable rule, for it is often possible that memory may serve a useful turn even if divorced from understanding; but we shall be wise to do all we can to avoid the charge of parrot-learning which is sometimes laid upon the present system. Of the specific methods of memory training I do not feel competent to speak.

Reasoning.

It is when we come to the actual thinking, to the native's reasoning, such as it is, that we are confronted by the real problem. Whether we decide that his reasoning is prelogical or simply illogical we find that he is constantly on the wrong track. His mind is swayed by whatever has an emotional or affective appeal; he is an inveterate arguer from analogy, appearing to think that similarity involves some mutual connection or interaction that may have causal value; he attributes to inanimate things all manner of powers that they cannot possess; he is grossly suggestible; and he holds a vast body of belief entirely on the authority of the past. I forbear to give examples of these failings because they are well enough known. The question is, how to combat them. In the long run this can only be by developing a real regard for truth, that is to say, a desire not only to speak truly but to think truly, or in accordance with hard fact. However far we are ourselves from attaining this ideal it may be assumed that we are in most cases a good deal nearer to it than our native pupils, and we may do something therefore to guide them into the right path. One of our objects, therefore (and for the time being, it is remembered, we are considering only intellectual education), should be to encourage the critical faculty. The native must continually ask himself the unwonted question, *Is this really true?* We must further cultivate the intellectual curiosity of which I have already spoken. Instead of relying so blindly on the fact that his fathers said this or did this, he must ask himself if there is a reason for it. The trend of his education will be from superstition towards science, though we shall be more than content if he reach so far as that half-way-house of common sense in which most of us assemble.

Towards the development of his reasoning powers we use simple mathematics with no doubt very useful results. But I would recommend—if it be considered feasible—constant exercise in *elementary logic*; not a formal course in deductive and inductive reasoning, but conversational classes in which problems of logic are framed in the circumstances of every-day life. For the European pupil I doubt whether any course can supersede that of formal logic as a means of training him to right thinking. In our system of education it appears to be reserved usually for the more advanced stages, though we master the elements indirectly in our childhood. But I believe that in a simplified and less formal guise logic could be made an important part of native education almost from its beginning; and that the method of teaching it should be that of conversational classes whose main aim was to expose false thinking and promote true thinking.

Towards the same end some instruction in the elements of *natural science* would be useful; and it seems obvious that the most approachable and profitable departments would be those of botany and zoology—the latter perhaps being limited to what is popularly called natural history. I can imagine that a class of young people under the guidance of a teacher possessed of some scientific outlook might become vastly engrossed in field study, and incidentally that in course of training their own minds they might even collect data of value to science.

English and Daily Intercourse.

In the foregoing chapter I have advocated English as the language of instruction, and largely because it will so greatly facilitate subsequent education. For it is not only by school lessons that we inculcate the principles of true thinking; it is more still by daily intercourse with minds of better education than his own, whether they speak with tongues or reveal themselves on a printed page, that the young Papuan will acquire the powers of logical thought. I am not supposing for a moment that we ourselves look at everything in the right way, but it is only on the assumption that the European's vision is less dim and distorted than the native's that we set ourselves up as teachers, so that we should welcome the possibility of intercourse. Greater familiarity with things as we see them and a

keener observation of causes and effects as we can show them to him are the best means, tardy as they are, by which he can rise superior to the old hangers-on, magic and superstition.

Teaching.

Leaving the question of mind-training we now come to that of teaching, or the actual content of intellectual education. What is it desirable that the pupil should be made to know? The all-important fact is that the intellect is a system, so that new knowledge cannot be merely added on, as it were shoved into a bag on top of what is already there: it must rather be introduced into the system, or, as I have said before grafted onto the growing tree. The existing system, it is true, will probably undergo some modification or rearrangement to accommodate the new knowledge, but that new knowledge should nevertheless be of such a kind as to be readily assimilable; it should be as far as possible capable of interpretation in the light of previous experience. It follows therefore that the instruction given to the Papuan should have some points of contact with his life. The population of Prague or the rivers of Portugal, for example, are matters that can hardly enter into the working system of his mind; the knowledge of them is likely to remain isolated and useless, like unsaleable stock that has been forgotten in some dusty corner of the warehouse. The information we give our native pupils should, on the other hand, in some way concern their interests past, present, or future—I include the last because their education must be progressive enough to fit them for those changes in their manner of life which European contact must bring about.

What then, in general terms, are the things a native should be taught? It is not possible here to restrict once's attention too severely to intellectual instruction: moral, aesthetic, and practical factors will continually introduce themselves into our teaching, nor of course should we endeavour to keep them out in order to make our teaching purely informative; but still emphasizing the intellectual side of education one may suggest several wide categories.

(1) Among things of universal interest there is, to begin with, knowledge of human nature (with which moral

instruction, viz., in the ideals of character and conduct, will be combined). Such knowledge will be best imparted by stories—true or imaginative, historical episodes, legends, fairy-tales, and fables. If they throw any light on human nature they have a high educative value; if they have a point or a moral, or if they illustrate heroism and the virtues, so much the better: they will then have an ethical value also. But it is essential that such stories be simplified or watered-down; and even, where it is possible, presented in Papuan guise. Could not our pupils be regaled and edified with the wholesome advice, the shrewdness, and the humour of Æsop, but with the mouse and the lion transformed into the bandicoot and the wild boar?

I cannot forbear to make a passing mention of biblical stories, though perhaps my remarks are beside the point because it has for so long been the practice to simplify them for the benefit of the young or uneducated. But the Bible as it is seems to me a most unsuitable book for native reading—which of course implies no disparagement of the Book itself. If an abridged edition of the scriptures is now mooted for the benefit of Europe, it has surely been long overdue for the benefit of the native races. What they require, I think, is a child's Bible, greatly shortened and clothed in the simplest language—not that the native adult is a child in any fundamental sense (although he is continually said to be), but that he is no better fitted than a child in that trend of education which can make him understand the actual language of the Bible. Not only is the language itself archaic and unlike the ordinary English he is taught, but the book is crammed with details—Israelitish, Egyptian, Palestinian—that are altogether remote from his understanding. Pharisees and Sadducees and camels and needles' eyes are difficult things for a native of Papua to visualize.

(2) A second category of universal interest comprises the phenomena of nature. I have already referred to natural history as a discipline of value in mind-training. As a subject of instruction its scope is almost inexhaustible and its interest unfailing. When the natives of Port Moresby shared with the whites the weekly entertainment of Ryan's pictures one might note how much of the film that dealt with European interests left them cold, but how often the appearance of an animal or bird would provoke

the squeals of the back seats. There is a great deal about their own fauna that the natives still do not know, and I have no doubt that the study would afford them profit and never fail to interest. It is not necessary to expatiate on all the other branches of natural science—botany, climate, astronomy, geography, geology, and the rest of them. All, apart from their educational value, have the advantage of an abundance of local material to work on.

(3) There is the more restricted class of things Papuan. In the various cultures of our Territory there is a vast quantity of material that to a member of one particular people is at once strange and yet more than half familiar. To a Motuan the life of the Kiwai or the Orokaiva, however different from his own, is far more intelligible than the life of a European. If pride and self-respect are worth fostering—and most assuredly they are—then to hear and read about his own people will do much to foster these sentiments in the breast of the Papuan; and not only individual pride, but what is more important still, a social pride in his own people. Furthermore, while it seems absurd to say that a white man can teach a native about his own customs, I believe that a sympathetic teacher could do much to keep alive all that is good in those customs—and I trust always that he will be liberal in his judgment of what is good. Much also the pupil can learn about the resources of his country and of how they may be exploited; much too of its geography, its geology, indeed of all the branches of natural science as they are illustrated in his own environment. Lastly he will be interested and instructed to hear of the white occupation, its history, its achievement, and its purpose.

(4) At the risk of encroaching on the subject of a later report I may mention a fourth category, viz., the Practical. This would cover all the activities of the food quest and material culture, everywhere suggesting improvements in method; it would include the arts and crafts of Papua, not only those that exist but those that might exist. Domestic science would come under the same head; also health and hygiene in relation to tropical life. Lastly there might be provision for future demands in respect of commerce—in trading, marketing, the care of plantations, the keeping of books, and any other matter that will be useful to the native when he is advanced enough to enter the commercial

fray; and in the elements of civics and politics, to help him in the task, which he will eventually face, and is in some cases already facing, of village self-government.

Each of the four categories above mentioned may be greatly amplified, and there are no doubt many other subjects of instruction that I have not thought of. The resource of the teacher will continually discover fresh teaching that still bears a relation to the life and experience of his pupils, and so is at once interesting, intelligible, and useful.

A Native Press.

The foregoing section on Teaching concerns itself with the kind of knowledge we should impart to the native pupil. The next question is, how we should impart it. The two obvious ways are (1) by oral instruction (together with such manual practice as some of the subjects require); and (2) by reading.

The first is perhaps mainly the business of the school, though I do not think for a moment that oral instruction should or will be limited to the pupil's school days: granted a knowledge of spoken English his education will proceed for many years afterwards simply by intercourse with Europeans. But that method of learning, viz., by the spoken word, I shall leave in order to discuss the other, the method of reading.

The following sentence is quoted from the Phelps-Stokes Commission: "It is impossible to overstate the pressing urgency of the need for a richer school literature capable of being related to community needs" (p. 17). I do not know whether its obvious truth is yet as widely known as it deserves to be, though we have very recently in Papua a book in which the idea receives complete expression. I refer of course to Mr. Saville's *Papuan School Reader*, a book which I shall not presume to praise. In this school reader, whose contents range from the works of nature (and of Papuan nature in particular) through various arts of man (again of Papuan man in particular) to the aims and achievements of the white man in the Territory, and concludes with a last but not least chapter on sport, the author has, as he set out to do, met the scholars "on their own ground." I am quite unable

to compute the extent of my indebtedness in this report to Mr. Saville's work, which I had the privilege of seeing before it was published; but so fully does it express the theory of this section on Teaching that I feel the debt must be very considerable. It may seem that so much theorizing following on the actual practice or accomplishment is all beside the mark, and it may be felt that a book so useful and popular is sufficient for all requirements. But the scope of the book, surprising as it is, is not of such encyclopædic proportions as to supply the demand for ever; and the foregoing theorizing may, if it is accepted as sound, be argument for extending the work which Mr. Saville has begun.

To come to the point I would recommend a newspaper or periodical for the Papuan natives. It would be printed in English, and its scope would be such as I have already outlined as indicating the proper content of native education. It would, in fact, be primarily an educative organ, but would present education in a guise that would attract its readers. For all who attained to a reading knowledge of English it would provide a continuous means, perhaps the principal means, of voluntary self-education. The reason for its existence alongside all the literature which is available to the English-reading native is that, unlike this other, it would purvey the sort of information which is specially adapted to Papuan life, and would thus permit of a normal and useful advance in education. The following are the details of the scheme:—

Papuan Native Newspaper.

Object.

The paper is to provide suitable reading matter for those who are able to read English; its object is primarily educative, being to impart knowledge which is at once useful and assimilable, i.e., apposite to the life which the Papuan leads and will lead; and it will serve a further indirect purpose in giving practice to the reader and so stimulating his desire for the wider knowledge which is available in other literature.

Language.

The paper is to be printed in English, because this is the only language which can feasibly be made a universal language; also because the knowledge of English should be encouraged as facilitating a better intercourse with the white man and making possible an entry into a wider literature. A paper in any vernacular would have a very

restricted circulation; it would not facilitate intercourse with Europeans or access to a wider literature; and furthermore the task of editing would be rendered far more difficult by the inevitable paucity of contributors.

Title.

The fact should be emphasized that the paper belongs to the Papuan native. The word "native," however, should be avoided. I had proposed simply "The Papuan Paper," or "The Papuan Newspaper," as names that would commend themselves to the natives. However, the Government Printer has suggested a rather more distinctive and attractive title, viz., "The Papuan Villager."

It should be insisted that this is not a school paper. It is not only for adults as well as children, but emphatically for adults *rather than* children when once we have a generation of full-grown readers.

Subject-Matter.

The possible subject-matter can be indicated only in the broadest terms. I suggest the following:—

Informative Articles : General—

Papua: tribes and peoples; geography and resources; material cultures; beliefs, ceremonies, etc.

Nature: sun and moon, stars of Heaven, showers and dew—the Omnia Opera of the Benedicite.

World Affairs: peoples; geography; history; description of the World's wonders—cities, airships, inventions, etc.

Informative Articles : Practical—

Activities of Food Quest, especially garden culture; descriptive and also instructive; improvements in agriculture, etc.

Domestic Economy: cooking; house-keeping; house construction, etc.

Hygiene: sanitation; elementary physiology; first aid, etc.

Arts and Crafts: description of those existing; also adaptations and possible new crafts.

News : World's News—

Suitable extracts, i.e., those of interest and profit.

News : Papuan—

Personal particulars *re* village constables, armed constables, councillors, or any other natives of mark (with mention of names).

Village News: reports of village festivals, ceremonies, etc., with names of principals.

Winners of competitions for best villages and gardens.

Mothers of four children, etc.

Lakatoi and other trading expeditions.

Sport: results of games and competitions.

Schools: successful candidates in examinations.

Any Papuan exploits and adventures (to be contributed by Papuans).

News: Europeans in Papua—

New appointments to magisterial offices, etc.; results of Government patrols, exploration, etc.

Personal news of well-known white residents.

Stories—

Papuan tales and legends.

Any fairy tales, fables, etc. (adapted).

European tales, historical or legendary.

Government: Propaganda—

Explanation of Government aims and policy *re* natives: e.g., *re* Native Taxation; plantations; Benefits and Education Funds in general.

Promulgation of Ordinances, regulations, etc., in unlegal language.

Reports of crimes and convictions.

Missions—

(The paper is meant to be secular, not religious, but a part of it might be given to religious instruction. It is of course not intended that the missionaries, whose special co-operation is hoped for, should confine their contributions to this column).

Explanation of aims and methods.

Religious teaching, e.g., a short monthly sermon; stories, etc.

Mission news.

Illustrations—

(These should be numerous and good. They would certainly add to the interest and probably to the value of the paper).

Pictures of Papuan scenes and happenings; portraits of identities, the police on parade, winning village teams, successful pupils, typical racial types.

Portraits of well-known Europeans.

Illustrations of native art.

Essay Competitions—

Publication of prize essays.

Puzzles—

(I should think the modern craze, which certainly sharpens the wits while it wastes the time of Europeans, might be permissible among a Papuan public).

Advertisements—

of stores; traders; recruiting agencies; photographers.

Editorship.

There should be one responsible editor; and there is no denying that the paper will make considerable demands on his time and energy. However it is to be hoped that many people will make contributions, viz., the missionaries, schoolmasters, magistrates, and other residents, both men and women. Native contributors should be encouraged (perhaps paid).

Publication and Format.

The paper should be monthly; say published the first of each month.

It might be about the size of the *Government Gazette* and consist of 4 pages (8 sides); could be larger eventually or to begin with if thought necessary.

The print should be fairly large and the paper of good quality; better quality than the ordinary daily so that natives could file their copies. Containers such as spring-back files should be purchasable.

Style.

It should go without saying that the writing must be in the simplest and most straightforward style.

Printing and Finance.

The paper would be printed if possible by Government Printer. Natives should certainly be charged for their copies, say 6d. or 3d., as was thought fit, a reduced rate being given for standing subscriptions. The cost would be met by—

1. Subscriptions and sales;
2. Advertisements (if any);
3. Education Fund to be ultimately responsible.

Circulation.

Present sales would be principally in Port Moresby and Samarai, but all mission stations and Government stations could be sent copies for distribution. The requirements of these latter would be fairly well ascertained by trial.

The above are provisional suggestions only and may of course be amplified or changed. The question that will present itself is whether the time is ripe for such a scheme. Personally I believe that a beginning could be made at once, i.e., as soon as the details were fixed and an editor was found to do the work. About the circulation even at present I have no misgivings. As the knowledge of English extends the circulation and value of the paper would extend with it; but even if publication could be commenced this year I have little doubt that on the first day of issue Port Moresby at least would be fluttering with news-sheets.

4/15/30 commonwealth of Australia. H.S.

Port Moresby :
EDWARD GEORGE BAKER, Government Printer.—4959/9.28.

